

RUTLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RUTLAND (Part III)



A wooden frame building served as the Rutland County Courthouse from 1784 to 1791. The Vermont Legislature met in it in October 1784 and 1786. The first U.S. District Court session in Vermont was also held here in May 1791. The Courthouse had only two rooms, one of which had a dirt floor. This building, located on the north side of West Street, west of the present National Guard Armory, was torn down in 1912.

III. From Frontier Foundations to Urban Beginnings¹ (1770-1791)

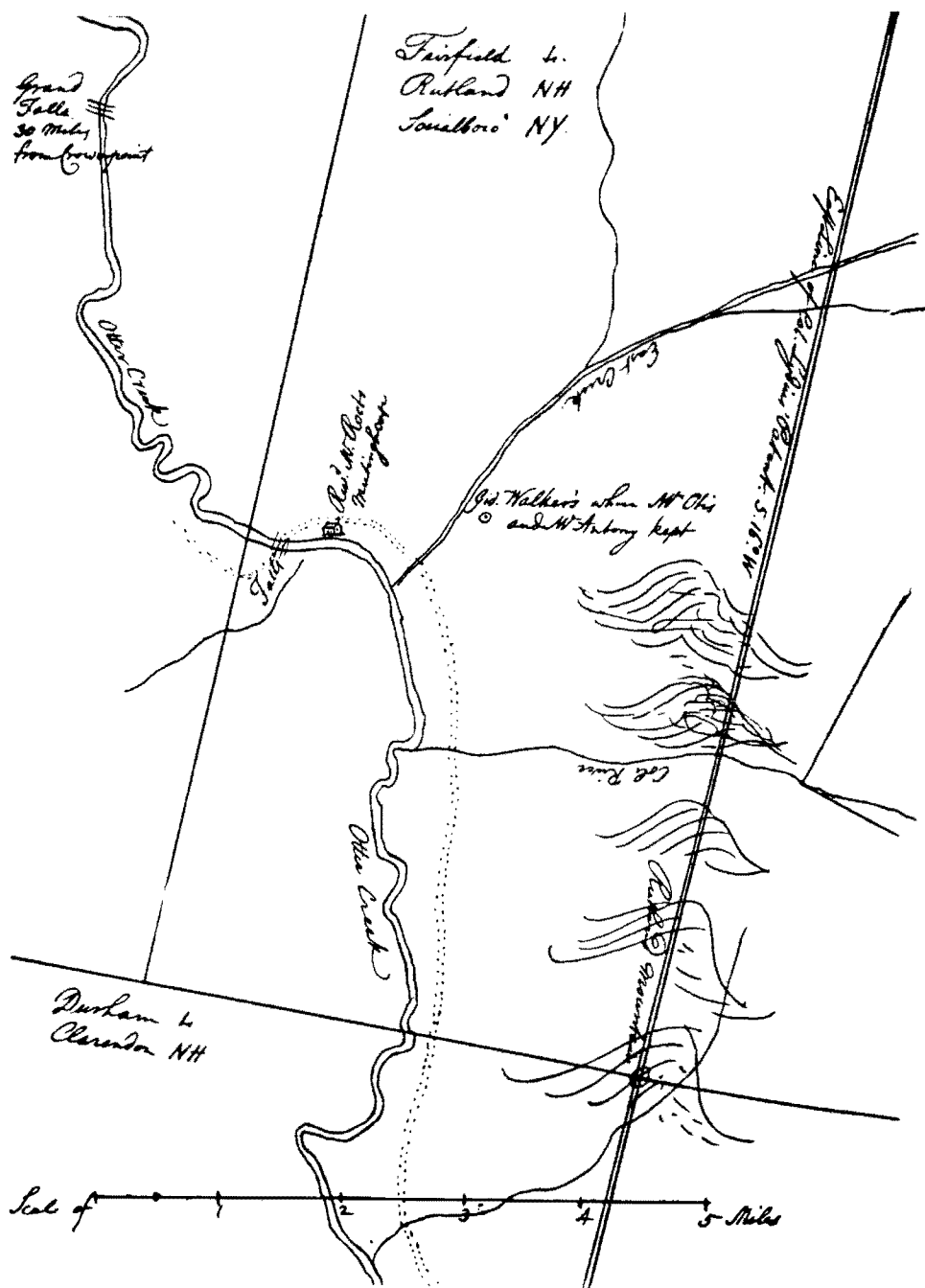
by James S. Davidson

From the earliest years of Rutland's settlement there were signs of division in the community. These were undoubtedly attributable to the natural divisions of geography as well as to the aggressive spirit of independence of the people. The first settlements in Rutland were for the most part at Center Rutland near Mead's mill at the "Little Falls" and in the west part of the town where the soil was more fertile. There were some exceptions to this pattern, especially where it involved the establishment of mills on the tributaries to East Creek and Otter Creek. However, later settlement tended more and more to locate on a plateau of higher land to the east, removed about two miles from Otter Creek and the Center Rutland area. Tradition says that the Center Rutland land owners forced the development of the east village by the high prices they demanded for their land. However, the common pattern of Vermont settlement was to locate on the higher ground where the forest stand was lighter and the soil less damp and heavy. There was also some concern that the low damp areas were more susceptible to disease, particularly the recurring summer fevers. Then too, perhaps, the settler of the east village saw the greater urban possibilities of the commodious plateau of the east village.²

The division of the town also had a basis in the early proprietary structure. As early as 1773 the proprietors had divided their rights into three groups: the twenty rights in the southwest section of the town, the fifteen rights in the southeast section and the five rights adjoining north of the fifteen rights. On 5 June 1780, the general proprietary authorized the proprietors of each group of rights to lay out divisions within their respective locality, keep their own records and generally conduct their own affairs, thus tending to maximize the independence of the proprietors and contribute to the division of the community. In the same year the town freemen further ratified the town division by voting to build two pounds for the enclosure of stray livestock, one for the east side and one for the west side of the town. The east side pound was to be built on the hill near the east side school which indicated that there was already a division in schools.³

Perhaps the most significant division of the town was the religious separation of the community into east and west parishes or societies. On 20 October 1773, fourteen people, ten of whom were Rutland inhabitants, had formed a church at Center Rutland under the direction of the Reverend Benajah Roots who had recently been pastor of the First Church in Simsbury, Connecticut. The members of the church met in a log meetinghouse which was located in the center of town near Mead's mill at "Little Falls." Although all the inhabitants of the town did not unite in supporting the Reverend Roots, he still obtained the first settled minister's right of land.⁴

The Reverend Benajah Roots had graduated from New Jersey College (Princeton) in 1754 and had served fifteen years as pastor in Simsbury, Connecticut.



The map reflects the claims of Colonel John Henry Lydius (L = Lydius grant), New York speculator, the proprietors of the New York grant of Socialborough (NY) and the proprietors of the New Hampshire grant of Rutland (NH), all of which overlapped imperfectly and fueled nearly constant land controversy in early Rutland.

Two signs of civilization in the pristine forest were the Reverend Benajah Roots' meetinghouse, located on a path through the wilderness near Mead's Falls, and Gideon Walker's house near East Creek.

In 1770 his ministry had come under some question concerning its orthodoxy. Roots had published a pamphlet in which the underlying themes seemed to contain elements of the "New Light" movement. In addition, his expulsion of an important church member, without prior consultation, smacked of a disciplinary independence that was not in keeping with the orthodoxy of the "Standing Order" of Connecticut. Accordingly, Roots was charged with "holding and publishing sundry unsound, dangerous and heretical doctrines, and of some instances of conduct contrary to the scriptures." Although Roots was acquitted, his congregation dismissed him in 1771.⁵

WEST PARISH RECORDS

MEMBERS AT THE TIME OF ORGANIZATION: 1773

Ebenezer Hopkins	Enos Ives
Samuel Crippen	Joseph Bowker
David Hawley	Jehiel Andrews
William Roberts	Sarah Bowker
Charles Brewster	Sarah Andrews
Abraham Jackson	Anna Ives
Jon Moses	Mehitabel Andrews

The above named were incorporated into a Church at Rutland on Otter Creek, October 20, 1773 by the direction and assistance of Rev. Benajah Roots, V.D.M. of late, Pastor of the First Church in Simsbury, Connecticut.

RECEIVED IN 1773

Moses Hale	Mehitabel Johnson
Mary Hale	Mercy Mead
John Johnson	Elizabeth Roots

The record of the Reverend Roots' ministry in Rutland, as well as his dedication to his ministry, was less than complete. Whether due to disinclination, the infirmities of advancing age, or a combination of both, the Reverend Roots was able to show little accomplishment in making additions to his flock. With the exception of six additions to the church in the first few months of his pastorate, there were no additions to the church in eleven years. The traditional belief was that Roots was engaged to preach for only five years and that there was dissatisfaction when he asked for more money at the end of this term. On the other hand, Roots had extensive real estate dealings which indicated that the ministry did not absorb all his time and energy. William McConnell, a young contemporary, described Roots as a "militia preacher," which seemingly referred to his irregular service since Roots was never a member of the militia.⁶

About 1780 the town decided to employ the Reverend Mr. Roots no longer. On 4 January 1781, the town voted to settle a minister and established a committee to obtain preaching. At least four different preachers served varying and irregular periods of trial during the next two years. In the spring of 1784 the town voted to take advantage of an act of the General Assembly adopted at its last session in 1783, which enabled towns to tax for the support of preaching and the construction of a meetinghouse, and proceeded to vote to build a meetinghouse.

The town then voted to make a settlement with Mr. Roots for his "preaching of late" while at the same time requesting him to continue preaching until the town could procure some other minister. The town originally voted a tax rate of two pence per pound on the Grand List of 1774 for the settlement with the Reverend Roots but later reconsidered and voted one penny per pound on the Grand List of 1784 for "preaching sometime past" which seemed to indicate some dissatisfaction with the irregularity of the Reverend Roots' ministry.⁷

In the summer of 1784 Rutland experienced a religious revival which culminated in forty-nine additions to the church in 1785. The Reverend Jacob Wood led the revival and although the great majority of the conversions were inhabitants of the west part of town, both parts of the town made provisions for the voluntary support of the Reverend Mr. Wood.⁸

Meanwhile, although the town had approved the purchase of two thousand feet of boards for the meetinghouse in 1780, had authorized Colonel Mead to repair the old meetinghouse in 1782, had voted to erect a new one in 1783 near where the old one stood, and again in the Spring of 1784 had voted to build a new meetinghouse, nothing apparently had been done. Therefore in June 1784, at their own expense, the inhabitants of the east part of Rutland erected a meetinghouse in a location central to that part of the town. In 1785 they held the first meeting in it.⁹

On 25 January 1787, these same inhabitants of the east part of Rutland petitioned the General Assembly to divide the town of Rutland into two societies. Further, they petitioned that the east part be incorporated into a religious society with the same power in law as other incorporated towns and societies, including the power to tax themselves. The petitioners argued that, being of similar sentiments in religion, they desired to settle a minister in a regular order and build a meetinghouse in a central location but could never agree as a whole town. As a result they, the petitioners, had gone ahead and built a meetinghouse at a very large expense.¹⁰

A copy of the petition was directed to Benjamin Whipple, Esquire, Colonel James Mead and Mr. John Johnson, one of the Selectmen, all inhabitants of the west part and members of the standing church, to show cause why the town should not be divided into two religious societies. On 13 February 1787, a meeting of the inhabitants of the west part appointed a committee, composed of John Johnson, Timothy Boardman and Andrew Crocker, to draft a remonstrance to the petition of the eastern inhabitants. In the remonstrance the committee pointed out that the present church included members from each side of town and that no objection to the division was made in regard to religious sentiments. Instead they argued, and accurately, that the town had agreed to build a meetinghouse near the old one at Center Rutland, which was most convenient for the majority of the town. The failure to pursue this oft-made decision was laid to the east side, as the west side had already subscribed about two hundred pounds for this purpose. The remonstrance closed with a notice of the inconsistency of the petition, which it claimed was not founded on good will to the whole of the town. Nevertheless, the Legislature granted the East Parish petition on 22 October 1787.¹¹

Note: Dr. Heman Ball arrived to serve the East Parish pulpit in 1797. He was a Dartmouth graduate, received his Doctor of Divinity from Union College and at age 32 was a trustee of Middlebury College. In the next 20 years, through a kindly compassion for people and his mode of preaching the practical, rather than the doctrinal, he built his parish up to 250 members. His home was simple, with space for a small garden and a few chickens. Since most of the parishioners were farmers, they were able to provide a subsistence to Dr. Ball, of potatoes, cornmeal, ham and bacon, milk and butter, plus a pittance of 50 £ sterling per year.

The following report of the early East Parish was written by Dr. Heman Ball:

EAST PARISH RECORDS

MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH

When I settled in the work of the ministry in this place, I found the Church to consist of only twenty-three persons, twelve males and eleven females. It appeared that fifteen others had been members; but were either dead or had removed previous to my settlement.

The Church was incorporated October 5, 1788.

The names of the members are as follows:

Reuben Harmon	Oliver Harmon	Chaziah Post
Eunice Harmon	William Post	Azubah Lewis
Mary Cushman	John Andrews	Eunice Risley
Charles Cushman	Benjamin Risley	Sarah Cook
Abner Lewis	Mrs. Claghorn	Mary Andrews

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These by death or removal, were absent — not in the Church — in the year 1797.

Jehiel Andrews	Thomas Hale	Thankful Himes
Silas Willis	Samuel Williams	Mabel Andrews
Roswell Post	Miles Baldwin	Rachel Cook
Moses Sargeant	Ebenezer Andrews	Sarah Harris
Israel Harris	Sarah Andrews	Sarah Sargeant
William Barr	Mary Barr	Mrs. Willis
William Barnes	Anna Baldwin	Mrs. Claghorn
Issachar Reed		Polly Williams

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These were the members of the Church when I was ordained February 1, 1797. These names are all found excepting one, at the time when the Church was embodied in 1788. From that time to the time of my settlement in 1797, it appears that but one person viz: Polly Williams, had connected with the Church.



This humble building, lacking steeple, bell, lights or organ, and with only a trace of heat from charcoal foot-warmers, was completed under the direction of Colonel James Claghorn, using lumber from his own sawmill on Moon Brook, the 5th day of October 1788.

TOWN OF RUTLAND

Sutherland
Falls

1 mi .5 0

Otter
Creek

Pittsford

MOSES HALE

5 rights

JAMES MEAD

20 rights

East Creek

Main Street

Mendon

Castleton

West Street

Mead's
Falls

JOSEPH
BOWKER

THADDEUS CURTIS

MOSES HALE

FELIX POWEL

15 rights

Quarterline Road

Clarendon

Cockburn Line

Stratton Road

DRAWN BY JON CHADBURN
AND TERI CURTIS
1977

Although both parts of the town professed to have similar sentiments in religion, there were some differences in the articles under which the first church, hence to be called the West Parish, was organized and under which the new East Parish was organized in 1788. The West Parish clearly rejected the Halfway Covenant and evidenced some of the "New Light" tendencies. The East Parish adopted the Halfway Covenant and evidenced more rationalistic tendencies. Yet both parishes belonged to the Association of the Western District of Vermont and seemed to practice mutual fellowship and helpfulness.¹²

The major cause of the division of the parishes appeared to be more an economic one. The location of a meetinghouse in a town was usually more than just a question of convenience. It brought with it the location of other public buildings and created a town center which increased the land values there and decreased them in the old center. Thus the location of a meetinghouse was a very important economic factor in determining the form of town development.¹³

Eighty-four male inhabitants of the east part of the town had signed the petition for the creation of a separate parish which made possible the legal recognition of the meetinghouse they had already built by subscription in 1784. Yet sixty-two of the signers were not members of the East Parish Church nor would they or their wives become members in the next decade. In addition, two persons were members of the standing church and remained members as it became the West Parish Church. Certainly town development and not theology had to be the primary concern here, although the more rationalistic Halfway Covenant school of theology seemed more appropriate to the urban tendencies of the East Parish than the revivalistic New Light theology of the agrarian West Parish.¹⁴

Coincidentally or not, discernible signs of urbanization also began to appear in the deliberations and decisions of the town at this same period. At the end of 1782 the townspeople began to be more concerned about roads. They appointed a committee to find some way to pay for highways and other committees to wait on the proprietors to obtain land that was set aside in the charter for highways. The proprietors had voted on 5 June 1780 to give out the highway land but apparently had not implemented their decision. One road, apparently laid out in 1780 through the farm of William Roberts, one of the early proprietors, engendered a long controversy with the town. However, the controversy did not seem to be one of the town versus proprietors, as the town's representative in the case was himself a proprietor from the same part of town.¹⁵

In 1783 there were hopes that Center Rutland might become the capital of Vermont. It had been the Vermont Military Headquarters during the Revolution and was in a somewhat central location. Now there seemed to be a conscious attempt to develop the town as opposed to the early agrarian proprietors' concern to maximize their independence. A new town attitude seemed faintly discernible in the actions of the town meeting beginning in 1783. At the town meeting on 11 March 1783, the town appointed a committee to divide the school districts, directed the selectmen to erect stocks near the old meetinghouse in Center Rutland, voted to confine rams from the middle of August to the middle of November and decided that swine should not be allowed to run at large at any time.¹⁶

On 9 September 1783, a committee from the town participated in a convention of several towns in the county which decided that the county courthouse would be built in Rutland. Although the freemen of Rutland disagreed on the number of towns to be included in the county, they voted to become a county town and to accept the location of the county courthouse and jail in the west part of Rutland near the Great Road that led from Rutland to Castleton. In the spring of 1784 the General Assembly formalized the county's decision and also established post offices at five locations in the state, one of which was Rutland.¹⁷

In the summer of 1783 the east part of the town received the benefit of a town decision to build two good cart bridges over the East Creek. This placed the east part of Rutland at the intersection of great roads north, south and west, with good bridges north and west over the East Creek. With the location of the new meetinghouse in the east village in the summer of 1784, it was not surprising that in the fall of 1784 the location of the new county public buildings was moved to a location near the center of the east village of Rutland.¹⁸

The reasons for moving the county seat from the original and more central town of Tinmouth to the west part of Rutland and then again to the east part were undoubtedly political and economic. The east village was without doubt the best location for the county seat both in regard to its ease of access from the north and east and in regard to its spacious potential for accommodating a larger population. But perhaps health was also a factor. The town of Tinmouth, which was the county seat, was seasonally plagued with the "fever ague" which was later traced to the stagnated waters of a small lake in the town. As a result, the desirability of that town as a habitation and the land values decreased. The western location in Rutland was not near a lake but was in a very low and damp area which, although desirable for farming, was not considered to be as healthy as the higher land of the east village.¹⁹

In 1785 there was a movement toward the centralization of town government in Rutland. The number of selectmen was reduced from five to three. From 1785 to 1787 a continuity developed in that the same three selectmen were elected each time. Prior to this, the town had re-elected individual selectmen but had never provided such continuity to a complete group.²⁰

Not only did the town centralize power in a smaller group but it gave more authority and discretion to the selectmen. In April 1785, the town gave the selectmen power to abate whatever tax rate bills they thought proper. And in September 1788, they gave the selectmen power to alter highway districts in such manner as they judged would best accommodate the public. Prior to this time, an abatement request had been a topic for town meeting and not executive action.²¹

The number of town meetings, with their controversies and vacillations, decreased until the next decade when only one was held each year. Controversy in the town, like the one with William Roberts over a highway, a controversy which was finally settled after a little over four years, began to disappear from the town meeting. For all practical purposes these developments indicated an increased power and scope in the selectmen's office.²²

The new selectmen were mostly new faces in the office and significantly younger than the selectmen before them. Two were relatively recent migrants to the area. In the spring of 1784 Joseph Hawley, who had been town clerk for many years, moved from the town and on 11 July of the same year, Joseph Bowker, who had been town treasurer, died. As a result of these events, new and younger men had an opportunity to fill both of these important town offices. Timothy Boardman, a thirty-year old recent arrival in Rutland, became town clerk and Asa Hale, who was only twenty-five years old, became town treasurer. By 1787 the town clerk, the town treasurer and two of the three selectmen were inhabitants of the east part of Rutland and signatories of the petition of the east part to divide Rutland into two religious bodies, thus centering the new power and dominance in the east part.²³

From 1785 to 1790 the town clerk, the town treasurer and all the selectmen, with one exception, belonged to either the East or the West Parish Church. In addition, most of these officials took prominent roles in their church. Although Rutland's leaders were nearly all church members, the vast majority of inhabitants were not. Only about one hundred of over fourteen hundred people in 1791 belonged to the two churches combined. Two-thirds of these belonged to the West Parish Church and one-third belonged to the East Parish Church. Conversely, the East Parish had numerous committees with non-church members on them, which further demonstrated that political and economic factors, rather than religious factors, lay at the heart of the division of the community into parishes.²⁴

During the decade of the 1780s a great change had quietly taken place in Rutland, for the most part that change centered on the summer of 1784. The east village had improved its position at the intersection of the north, south and west highways by good bridges and a new meetinghouse which, combined with its selection as the county seat and the site for the county public buildings, clearly identified it as a growing urban center. On the other hand, the religious revival, which started in the summer of 1784 and found its greatest effect in the west part of Rutland, was, perhaps, more the sign of a resignation of worldly power of the west part to the east part.²⁵

This change was also symbolized in the death of one Rutland leader and the rise to power of another. On 11 July 1784, Colonel Joseph Bowker, an acknowledged leader of both Rutland and Vermont, died. Meanwhile, a young militia captain, Samuel Williams, had been elected selectmen, as well as representative to the State Legislature in 1783, and had risen rapidly to assume a leader's role in Rutland and Vermont until his untimely death in 1800. Although these changes were coincidental rather than causally related, they still significantly symbolized the passing of the old generation and the rising of a new generation.²⁶

There were many elements of community life in motion in the summer of 1784 and, although they were not always causally connected, their influences combined, as zephyrs often combined, to produce a wind of change that was distinctly blowing in the direction of the development, dominance and urbanization of the East Parish under the leadership of a younger generation.

BACK NOTES

¹The character and personality of a community are determined by the quality and the mixture of the people making up that community. Although these are subtle things to delineate, there are signs that provide evidence of their nature. However, the subtlety and complexity of the evidence makes the demonstration difficult. In addition, changes in the quality and mixture are constantly, but almost unnoticeably, going on.

²*The Rutland Herald* (hereafter cited as *RH*) Centennial Edition, Dec. 8, 1894, p. 2; H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, ed., *History of Rutland County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1886), p. 303; Chauncey Kilbourn Williams, [Notes for a history] MS (Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, VT), I, 18; Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Magazine embracing a history of each town, civil, ecclesiastical, biographical, and military, III, Orleans and Rutland Counties* (Claremont, N.H., 1877) 1057, 1059; Rutland Town Records MS (hereafter cited as TR) (City Clerk's Office, Rutland, VT), I, *passim*; *Seventy-seventh Annual Report (Fiscal Year July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1969) City of Rutland, Vermont* (n.d., n.p.), p. 16; Genieve Lamson, "Geographic Influences in Early History of Vermont," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for the Years 1921, 1922 and 1923* (Montpelier, VT, 1924), 81, 115; [John] A. Graham, L.L.D., *A Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont, One of the United States of America* (London, 1797), pp. 77-78. In 1784 a petition of sixty-nine inhabitants of Rutland County (mostly from Clarendon) urged that the county seat be developed in the east village of Rutland because it was the "most developed in the east village of Rutland because it was the "most commodious" and best location for communications between the westerly part and east on account of roads already laid out. Two other petitions, now missing, but to the same effect, were also submitted to the General Assembly. See Edward A. Hoyt, ed., *General Petitions, 1778-1787; S.P. of Vt., VIII* (Montpelier, Vt., 1952), pp. 98-99. See also the petition of the East Parish for a separate religious society on p. 293.

³Rutland Proprietors' Records MS (hereafter cited as PR) (City Clerk's Office, Rutland, VT) pp. 2, 73 and last page [unpaged] which hereafter will be indicated as [u.p.]; TR, I, 99. Akagi found the same situation to have existed in other New England townships where proprietors organized into two or more independent groups to overcome the inconvenience of geographic barriers. See his *Town Proprietors*, p. 72.

⁴Marvel Swan, ed., "[Rutland] West Parish Records," (unpublished typescript), pp. 1, 5; Marvel Swan, ed., "Rutland, Vt., East Parish Congregational Church Records, 1797-1870," (unpublished typescript), p. 1; Hemenway, III, 1016; Smith and Rann, p. 320.

⁵Stephen A. Freeman, "Puritans in Rutland, Vermont, 1770-1818," *Vermont History*, XXXIII; 2 (April, 1965) 343-345; Henry Hall Papers MS (Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.); C. K. Williams (Notes . . .), II, (u.p.); Smith and Rann, p. 320; Hemenway, III, 1060-1061.

⁶Swan, "West Parish Records," p. 5; Smith and Rann, p. 320; Rev. Samuel W. Boardman, *The Log Book of [Deacon] Timothy Boardman including biographical sketch* (Albany, N.Y., 1885), p. 31; Rutland Probate Court Records MS, II, 100-101; C. K. Williams (Notes . . .), I, 26, II, (u.p.).

⁷Swan, "East Parish Records," p. 1; TR, I, 99, 145, 190, 191, 211, 273, 284, 287, 316, 331, 354, 365. The use of the 1774 Grand List in the first instance and the use of the term "preaching sometime past" in the second instance suggest the probability that this sum paid Rev. Roots represented more than his most recent service. The different rates on the two grand lists would probably have raised about the same sum of money, given the probability of a larger grand list at the later date. But even that would hardly represent full time preaching for any lengthy period of time. It is significant to note that the irregular preaching obtained in 1781 and 1782 was also paid by a penny per pound rate. See TR, I, 1900, 211.

⁸Hemenway, III, 1060; Hall Papers; Swan, "West Parish Records," pp. 5-6; TR, I, 365; Timothy Mather Cooley, D.D., *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (New York, 1839), p. 77.

⁹TR, I, 99, 273, 316, 331; Swan, "East Parish Records," p. 1.

¹⁰Hoyt, *S.P. of Vt., VIII*, 293-294.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 294-295, 322; Swan, "West Parish Records," pp. 5-6; TR, II, 508; I, 316, 331. The other two selectmen were signers of the East Parish petition.

¹²Swan, "West Parish Records," pp. 1-4; Swan, "East Parish Records," pp. 1-5; John M. Comstock, *The Congregational Churches of Vermont and Their Ministry 1762-1942. Historical and Statistical* (St. Johnsbury, Vt., 1942), p. 19.

¹³Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 60-62; Freeman in his article, "Puritans in Rutland . . ." concluded that basic theological differences lay at the heart of the division of Rutland into East Parish and West Parish. It is true that there were differences of doctrine but Freeman's thesis did not consider a number of other sources which were undoubtedly unknown and/or unavailable to him. Chief among these were the petition of the east part and the remonstrance of the west part in which both parties stated that theological differences were not the basis for the separation.

¹⁴Hoyt, *S.P. of Vt.*, III, 294; Swan, "East Parish Records," pp. 171-172; Swan, "West Parish Records," pp. 5-9. The parish division also seemed to involve some elements of a non-proprietary vs. proprietary (at least the proprietors of the twenty rights) conflict as only two proprietors holding a total of three proprietary rights can be definitely identified among the East Parish petitioners and the twenty rights proprietors were wholly within the West Parish. A fuller treatment of the proprietary conflict is to be found in Chapter Four. In addition, there was a large representation of commercial as opposed to agrarian interests among the East Parish petitioners.

¹⁵TR, I, 99, 145, 190, 191, 196, 273, 284, 285, 287, 309, 316, 351, 354, 389, 390; PR, last page but one (u.p.). Bushman found that a new meetinghouse usually led to petitions for new roads to it. In Rutland, much of the road development seems to have preceded the construction of the meetinghouse. Bushman also found that proprietors tended to oppose roads through their lands. See his *From Puritan to Yankee*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁶Boardman, p. 31; TR, I, 296.

¹⁷Rutland, VT., MS (Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.); TR, 319; John A. Williams, ed., *Laws of Vermont, 1781-1784; S.P. of Vt.*, XIII (Montpelier, Vt., 1965), 257; Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State*, II, 393.

¹⁸TR, I, 308; Williams, *S.P. of Vt.*, XIII, 288-289. A good bridge had been constructed across Otter Creek in the west part by order of General Horatio Gates of the American army in the summer of 1776. See Crockett, II, 5.

¹⁹Graham, pp. 77-78; Lamson, p. 115.

²⁰TR, I, 389, II, 507; C. K. Williams (Notes . . .), II, (u.p.).

²¹TR, I, 390, II, 506.

²²TR, I and II, *passim*.

²³Unpublished study by the author based on TR, I, II, *passim*; Swan Genealogical Notes; and the East Parish Petition found in Hoyt, *S.P. of Vt.*, VIII, 294. The new selectmen were eight to ten years younger than the men they replaced.

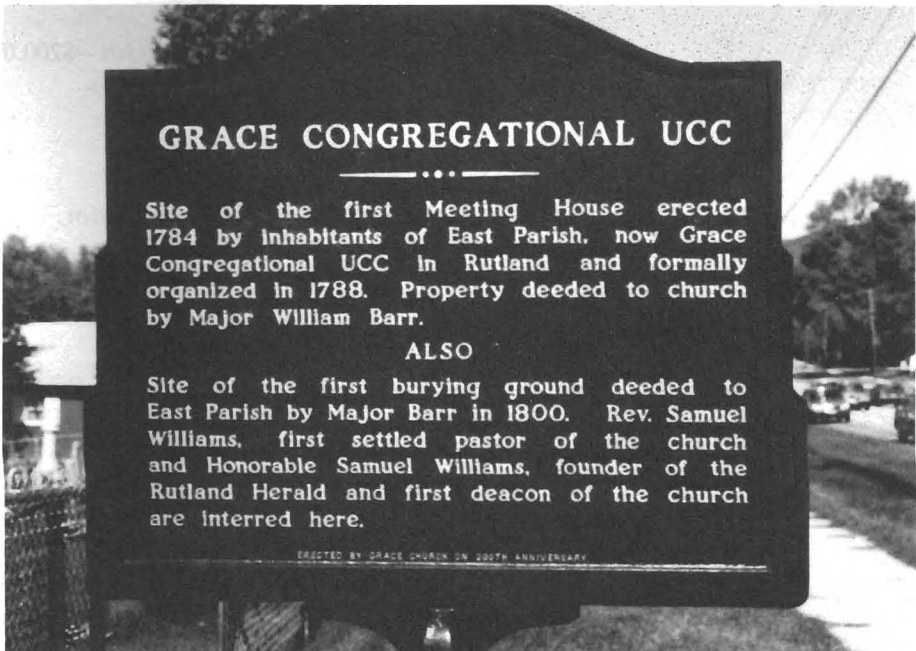
²⁴TR, I, 389, II, 502-507; C. K. Williams (Notes . . .), II (u.p.); Swan, "West Parish Records," pp. 5-7; Swan, "East Parish Records," pp. 171-172; Swan, "East Parish Minutes," pp. 1-7; *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Vermont* (Washington, D.C., 1907), pp. 43-44. It should be noted that the census of Vermont was not authorized until 1791 when Vermont became a state.

²⁵Early revivals in Rutland centered at a time and in a place where a group had just lost, or was about to lose, worldly power and influence. This was demonstrated in 1784 and 1785 in the West Parish. In 1801 and 1803 it was exemplified in both the East and West Parishes.

²⁶E[liakim] P[ersons] Walton, ed., *Records of the Council of Safety and the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont to which are prefixed the Records of the General Conventions from July 1775 to December 1777* (hereafter cited as G. & C.) (Montpelier, VT, 1873-1880), III, 54 n., IV, 83 n.; John E. Goodrich, comp. and ed., *The State of Vermont: Rolls of Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783* (Rutland, VT, 1904), p. 309; TR, I, 296; RH Centennial Edition, Dec. 8, 1894, p. 2.

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RUTLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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